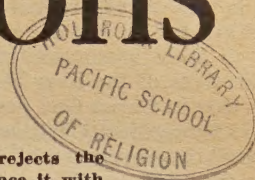


# Social Questions

## BULLETIN

of the Methodist Federation for Social Service (unofficial), an organization which rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society; which seeks to replace it with social-economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinctions and privileges.



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## Revolutionary Christianity

CLARENCE TUCKER CRAIG<sup>1</sup>

The essential nature of Christianity is revolutionary. That statement calls for explanation in the light of the history of the Church and the popular misunderstanding of revolutions. No one can truthfully deny that the Church has often been a bulwark resisting change. That fact, however, only illustrates how easy it is for the best to become perverted. If many of its members fear revolution, it is because they associate that word with destructive violence. As a matter of fact, in the great historic revolutions the greatest violence has come from counter-revolution. *Revolutions come through creative inventions and transforming ideas.* America is well adjusted to welcome revolution through mechanical *invention*. Its resistance to *ideas* that would threaten selfish comfort and smug self-satisfaction is tremendous.

The Christian Church no longer finds it easy to say to the individual, "You must be born again." It is a hundred times harder to say the same to society when the organized structure of the Church is so intimately entwined in a semi-pagan social order. It is not surprising, therefore, that many Christians indignantly repudiate all talk of revolution when it is based on the premises of some particular secular panacea. I believe that the Marxist analysis of the economic process has real usefulness. When, however, zealous converts make it the basis for the social program of the Christian Church it presents a sad commentary on their ability to see differences. The cooperative movement is certainly a useful expression of some idealistic purposes in the economic field, but when it is presented as *the* Christian order such myopia carries its own condemnation.

The Christian revolution cannot be based on any secular philosophy or program, but must be founded on its own dynamic faith—a view of human nature, of God's redemption, and man's ethical response—which cannot stop short of social transformation. But how is this to be conceived? Unfortunately there is as yet too little common understanding among socially-minded Christians. They unite on many immediate objectives; they divide tragically upon others. They do not yet see that these divisions are inevitable because the gospel does not give a ready-made answer to these questions. Our unity must lie in our Christian faith, but it is just there that we have not yet found a common mind.

A generation ago the rallying call was the slogan of a "social gospel." Walter Rauschenbusch gave the movement literary expression, and it became the religious counterpart of the progressive movement in American politics. There still are devotees of the Rauschenbusch interpretation who apparently do not realize that its supposed biblical basis has long since been demolished by historic study of the Bible. As long ago as March, 1934, the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School brought out a bulletin dedicated to Rauschenbusch.

The purpose of it was twofold: to express the fullest loyalty to the social purposes to which he had given his life, but at the same time to recognize that the exegetical basis for his position can no longer be maintained. For Jesus, the kingdom of God was in no sense an evolutionary development. Neither he nor the early church was endeavoring to transform the social and economic life of their time. They were calling people to repentance in view of a kingdom which God would soon send.

The issue is much more deep-lying than simply a difference of opinion on details of biblical interpretation. Much of the pacifist debate might have been clarified had the disputants faced the prior question as to whether Jesus intended to set forth strategy for the transformation of social institutions or examples of absolute obedience to God. The problem is seen today when genuine apostles of Christian revolution attack the idea that the kingdom of God is beyond history, when they do not understand what is involved in that assertion. They violently oppose any such idea because they mistake it for the other-worldliness which looks upon religion as a passport to heaven. They do not see that it is the original eschatological framework of the biblical hope.

I do not see how anyone can deny that for the New Testament the consummation of the kingdom of God was "beyond history." Matthew's expansion of the Lord's Prayer, "Thy will be done on earth," certainly expresses no different point of view. The consummation of the kingdom of God was to be on a transformed earth, following the coming of the Son of man in glory, the resurrection of the dead, and the judgment. Naturally this involved the end of history as we know it. To say that the kingdom of God does not come completely into time is not to deny that radical social transformations are the inevitable accompaniment of the revolutionary gospel. It is to recognize that all social orders of sinful humanity still stand under the condemnation of God's perfect rule. It is to acknowledge that striving and incompleteness are inseparable from man's earthly experience. It is to realize that the task is never done, for the point of reference is not some attainable secular Utopia but the eternal will of God.

Unfortunately, some are seeking a different escape from unwelcome history in the latest fad, "realized eschatology." This endeavors to read the words of Mark 1.15, "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand," as "The kingdom of God has come," and ascribes to the Early Church all of the gospel teaching which cannot be made to fit this mis-translation. The linguistic and historical impossibility of this position has been amply demonstrated. It is more important here to point out what a blind alley this road provides. "Realized eschatology" repudiates every *coming* of the kingdom. The kingdom that did come in Jesus was God's saving act. After that, there is only the eternal world beyond history. According to this theory, there is no rele-

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vance to the kingdom of God in any transformation of social and economic institutions.

It is time that Christian leaders cease trying to find some substitute for the historic gospel which would be more acceptable to their presuppositions and come to grips with the implications of the New Testament. There we find the good news that in Christ God performed an act for man's deliverance. Evangelical Christianity has always taught that half of Paul's interpretation of Christ. It has neglected the other half, that God would soon bring the consummation of that redemption in a new world order. Jesus does not present an antithesis at this point. Of course he taught that there were intimations of the kingdom in his own ministry; the powers of evil were already being defeated. His ethical teaching, however, was not to show men how they might build a perfect society, but how they might prepare themselves for entrance into God's perfect rule when it should come. The social implications inherent in these teachings are tremendous, but they can never be truly seen as long as interpreters continue in the illusion that they were promulgations of a liberal program of reform.

Two possibilities are open for the Church once the primitive eschatological expectation fades away. The one usually taken has been to continue preaching salvation to individuals and ignore the Christianization of the institution of property as completely as did the Early Church. The other is to accept fully the revolutionary purpose of the gospel, and work out a strategy which frankly accepts our changed time perspective. Of those who have attempted the latter course, I would particularly commend the contributors to the stimulating volume, *Towards the Christian Revolution*,<sup>1</sup> edited by R. B. Y. Scott, a thorough biblical scholar, and Gregory Vlastos, one of the most important voices in the field of Christian ethics.

To illustrate the latter's frank championing of the historic Jesus rather than some modernized stereotype, I would like to quote from an article of his in *Christendom*:<sup>2</sup> "To rob him of his apocalyptic hope and turn him into a modern reformer is to do him violence. It is to make a simpleton out of him, who preached revolution in his ethics, to assume that he expected it to come about through a summation of changed hearts, while the power of Caesar and the Sanhedrin continued undisturbed. . . . It was unnecessary for Jesus and his faithful to organize a political and economic revolution. God would look after that. . . . A miraculous intervention of a supernatural God would bring in the new society at an hour which no man knoweth. God and his angels would reckon at that hour with the kingdoms of this world."

To all who shrink from developing their philosophy of Christian revolution from this starting-point I would recall the words of Jesus, "Blessed is he who is not offended in Me."

I have spent so long laboring this important point that I can only outline a few aspects of a genuinely Christian revolutionary movement. At the outset it must be frankly recognized that Christianity is a minority factor in the modern world. The Church, in its outlook and policy, is too loathe to recognize this fact. Furthermore, revolutionary purpose will always be a minority movement within the Church. Those who are eager to accept God's gifts are always more numerous than those willing to pay the price of facing entrenched evil. This is not said out of any spirit of defeatism; it is only sound realism.

The Christian revolution differs first from other movements in its *diagnosis of the disease*. It does not lie in any particular economic structure, but in the sin of the human heart, a sin which must be socially conceived. Hence, no better order can be possible without social repentance. This is not to deny that such repentance will involve radical revision of property structures. It is not to be forgotten that

most of the early Fathers insisted that private property was a result of sin. We may well ask how it is possible to Christianize institutions which depend for their main-springs of action on strife and exploitation. But greed and lust for power are not created by any form of economic organization, and they will not be cured by a change in these. Rauschenbusch showed years ago that the old dogma of original sin receives new reality when seen in this perspective.

In the second place, the Christian revolution differs in its *conception of the goal*. We have already seen some of the implications of the kingdom of God as the goal of history but always standing outside of it; as the criterion for social change but standing in condemnation upon all social orders. Also, theocracy may never properly be identified with rule by an ecclesiastical body. The Church may be a foretaste of the kingdom of God, but it is never the perfect kingdom. Though that is never here in its completion, we may still, like Jesus, see signs of its coming in the overthrow of particular demons. Nevertheless, nowhere is there written down in a book any exact blueprints for the growth of these "signs" of its coming. Creative experimentation is inevitable.

That brings us to the question of *method*. Class struggle may be an empirical fact, but it can never be accepted as the Christian method. In the midst of a sinful order, the inevitability of pressure groups must be acknowledged. The principle of the Christian ethic is not introduced, however, by the simple procedure of insisting that this must be non-violent pressure. The identification of the Christian law of love with a doctrine of non-violence has been a vicious source of confusion. It overlooks the fact that there is latent violence in every social structure. And every statute governing social and economic change has behind it the compulsion of law. It is never simply an expression of Christian love. All this should by this time be clear. Social change will always be accompanied by activities which are sub-Christian. But the Christian *contribution* lies in the principle of renunciation and love. As J. Middleton Murry put it years ago, the whole emphasis of Jesus was to turn the thing of terror—the judgment (or coming revolution)—into a thing of joy—(entrance to the kingdom)—by anticipating the revolution in our own hearts.

A final Christian contribution lies in the *resources*. By that we mean primarily the object of our faith. Part of the power of communism lies in its cosmic faith; it believes that dialectical materialism belongs to the very structure of the universe. The believer in the Christian revolution does not put his ultimate trust in the feeble reed of the cleverness of man. Of course he has hope for man, else all is utterly meaningless. Yet his hope is not in man but in God. His judgments are ever operative, because he is a God of justice as well as of mercy. His power is ever available for him who would dedicate himself to the attainment of a more perfect justice. Such a believer is never discouraged by temporary recessions. He is under-girded by the conviction that the light cannot be blown out, for the Eternal fire is unquenchable. At the same time, he knows that belief in the kingdom of God is not belief in automatic progress. There is no guarantee that our civilization will not join the derelicts of the past which Toynbee and his associates have been describing. But God is more than a refuge from the storm; he is our strength. The kingdoms of this world are not enduring, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.

There has probably never been a time when we have had a looser use of the word "freedom" than we have right now. We hear much about "free men" in a "free world" of "free enterprise," but we see little evidence that these slogans have any other basis than that of their utterers' emotions.—F. O. Matthiessen.

<sup>1</sup> Willett, Clark & Co., Chicago, 1936.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. II, p. 95.



# The Next Ten Years Will Determine

PERRY L. GREEN<sup>1</sup>

In all walks of life—influenced by the responsibilities of total war and the stirred emotions of families sacrificing their sons on the battlefronts of the world—people are asking with more insistence than ever before, "Will this war insure a lasting peace?"

This is a pertinent question and one to which every layman or person in position of leadership should give his most active attention. He should do his part to see to it that this war does insure a lasting peace.

This will mean making evaluations in the political and economic field according to a rule that has been laid aside for too long a time. We shall have to measure economic and political successes in terms of social values. We shall have to make social motivations the basis of economic action. We shall have to measure political action in terms of the individual instead of the corporation. We shall have to understand that while real religion is something within man, above and apart from his economic existence, it may lack the joyousness that keeps it alive in an economic or political world that breeds a war every generation or two.

There seems to be an awakened understanding on the part of Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic religious leaders that real religion cannot be something apart from the economic order and the political problems of our times. This is hopeful, but this awakened understanding on the part of the leaders must result in the Church beginning to give active support to the building of economic democracy in the years just ahead if it is to fulfill its obligations to society.

A crusade must be waged against the restrictiveness of an economic system that does not, on a voluntary basis, provide full employment and rising standards of living for the people of the world. To say that this is impossible is to belittle the intelligence of man. It is to cast aside the abilities of the scientist and the engineer. It is to make mockery of the initiative of free enterprise. We condemn civilization to a lingering death if we permit another war to be fought.

If the intelligence of man, with the blessing of the Church and a democratic government, through the skills of the scientist and the engineer, the initiative of free enterprise, and the loss of millions of lives on the battlefields, can win wars, then most assuredly it is possible to provide domestic abundance and do all the things which will insure a lasting peace.

If we are realists we shall understand, however, that the Church, economic systems and a wide variety of political governments will only slowly depart from their long-established traditional pasts and accept responsibility for the progress of civilization as a whole.

The most important place for such responsibility to be accepted is right here in the United States. What we do here will influence the whole world in what other nations can or cannot do, for here democracy still lives in the hearts of the people. The individual is still exalted above the state or economic advantage. Free enterprise is still a potent influence in our economy. It's a sort of anti-climax to have to say that in some of these we have failed a bit, but we hope not beyond our ability to make proper and immediate amends.

It is my personal opinion that if within the next ten years we shall not have decided to accept permanently our social responsibility to our people as a whole here at home and to take our proper place in accepting world responsibilities, the long-time outlook is far from bright.

Space will not permit of further enlargement of what may be considered the more philosophical objective approaches. We shall attempt to enumerate a few of the wholly practical things to be accomplished within the next decade:

1. *We should give general accord and assent to the establishment of a United Nations Government so that under law instead of under arms we may settle both the economic and political disputes of the nations of the world.* We may now be questioning whether Russia, Britain, or the United States has too much power as a member or members of this Government, but a start has to be made somewhere and sometime.

2. *There should be a general agreement and follow-up of the proposals of the Bretton Woods Monetary Conference.* Without general worldwide currency stabilization in which all the nations participate, the immediate resumption of international trade will be difficult. The proposal assumes that most of the nations will participate financially somewhat in proportion to their probable trade, but probably measured as much by their financial ability to support world stabilization of currencies as by the amounts of trade from each nation. There is objection to this proposal because it assumes, to some extent, departure from credit determination on the traditional basis. This proposal is in the nature of a collective guarantee of worldwide credit instead of permitting it to be done on the completely risk capital basis that followed World War I and that wound up later by contributing to the wrecking of many banks in this country. Academic or classical treatment of finance in the post war period, if we really want to reestablish world security, is to fail to realize the job to be done.

3. *There should be made to function a plan for international food distribution such as was proposed by the International Food Conference.* The United States would stand to be helped more by this in its obligations under the Monroe Doctrine, by disposing of South American agricultural commodities which come in direct conflict with our own annoying agricultural surpluses, than any other country in the world. It will be fatal to our post-war responsibilities in helping to supply the needs of the world if in this country we continue to restrict agricultural production for price stabilization purposes. Somewhere the product is needed. The Food Conference proposed a means for practical determination of such need. A bill is now pending in Congress for the United States to become a member of such international organization.

4. *We must consent to relatively open and uninterrupted trade throughout the world.* In light of the production experiences of the war, the bugaboo of cheap foreign labor products competing with American production has been exploded. Trade must be approached from the standpoint of rising standards of living everywhere in the world. If that is done, we shall have little difficulty in arriving at a proper basis for trade. High tariff barriers are breeders of internal and external economic confusion and, consequently, of war. The proposals now before Congress to extend and strengthen the existing reciprocal trade agreements should be approved.

5. *We must decide nationally and internationally whether we shall permit petroleum, chemical, rubber or other such cartels to decide on the trade zones each shall claim as its respective territory.* We must find the way of assuring free and uninterrupted competition in the interests of the people

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# The New Social Climate in the South

JACK R. McMICHAEL

Almost immediately following the March meeting of the Executive Committee of the Federation, I left the national office for an extensive trip through the South from which I have just recently returned. On this trip it was my privilege to address student assemblies of one type or another and to confer with student groups at the University of South Carolina, Emory University, Wesleyan College (Macon, Ga.), Georgia State College for Women, Talladega College (Talladega, Ala.), and the Kentucky State College for Negroes. At each there was eager response from students and from faculty members. If these first-hand college experiences are a guide, young people in the South are doing fundamental thinking about the world in which they live and are anxious to play their part in bringing about those basic social, economic, and political changes essential for a durable peace. Students generally recognize the necessity for basic social change. The trip afforded opportunity for many personal conferences with churchmen—ministers and lay men and women—educators, and labor leaders, both white and colored.

Conditions are ripe and the climate is favorable for significant social advance in the South. Evidences are numerous. There is, for example, the abolition of the poll tax in Georgia, which Governor Ellis Arnall has rightly stressed as an underscoring of our fundamental faith in people's rule, and a significant victory for political democracy. We are not depreciating his able leadership when we point out that Georgia's abolition of the poll tax was not the work of one man alone. The door was opened for him by the undergirding support which he received from the trade union movement, the League of Women Voters, the Georgia section of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and from progressive churchmen and church women. Now the abolition of the poll tax is on the agenda in other southern states; and there are clear possibilities for victories in Alabama and South Carolina.

As I passed through Washington, I learned, also, that for the first time in history two Southerners have signed the discharge petition on HR 7, the Federal anti-poll tax bill. President Truman (when he was Senator from Missouri), Senator Pepper of Florida, and other Southerners had supported the anti-poll tax bill and in the Senate had voted for cloture to stop the obstructionist filibuster of the poll taxers. In the House also there was southern support for the Federal anti-poll tax bill. In the case of Congressman Luther Patrick of Birmingham, for example, support for federal anti-poll tax legislation was an issue in the last election. Patrick won the election; and, while I was in Birmingham, he was addressing a mass meeting of Negro citizens in an A. M. E. church on extension of the right to vote. But no Representative from the South had ever dared to go so far as to sign the discharge petition on the Federal anti-poll tax bill in the House until this session of Congress, when two Southerners (both from Tennessee, a poll-tax state) signed that petition. They are Carroll Rees, a Republican, and Estes Kefauver, a Democrat.

Another extension of the right to vote took place in the South when Georgia became the first state in the nation to reduce the voting age to eighteen. Already other states are considering following Georgia's example, and bills to that effect are before several legislatures. There is encouraging evidence that the newly enfranchised younger voters in Georgia are taking their new citizenship responsibility seriously. Many of them went to the polls in the last election. On the campus of Georgia State College for Women at Milledgeville I found an active unit of the League of

Women Voters, a group which has given much decisive support to progressive change. GSCW students who are members of the League of Women Voters expressed strong opposition to the White Primary, largest remaining obstacle to full carrying out of the Constitution's intentions regarding free suffrage. Many of our devoted church women are also speaking out clearly on behalf of its abolition—so clearly demanded by democracy, fair play, and justice. The Supreme Court ruling in the Texas case has opened up the situation and greatly encouraged those who want the speediest possible attainment of full political democracy.

There has been a liberalizing change for the better in the southern press in some important instances—a definite aid to progressive forces. Atlanta is a good example. The old Hearst paper there no longer exists—an unspeakable blessing. The *Atlanta Journal* is under new forward-looking leadership; and the *Atlanta Constitution* is edited by the constructive and socially minded Ralph McGill, with whom some of our outstanding and dedicated church leaders have a splendid personal relationship. Nor are these the only leading papers in the South whose columns are open to progressive and envisioned thinking.

There is new opportunity today in the South for constructive advance in brotherly cooperation between the races. In Birmingham I talked with William Mich, a Methodist layman and leader there of the United Mine Workers of America. On the wall were pictures of union meetings—Negro and white miners standing side by side in fellowship and equality. Walking in and out of the offices were union leaders, Negro as well as white. Again, in the CIO headquarters in Atlanta Negroes and whites were both using the offices without discrimination. Certain it is that the vast expansion of the trade union movement (especially the CIO) in the South during the last decade has brought with it a marked increase in interpersonal relations and cooperative fellowship across race lines. Clearly, also, this has presented the Christian churches with a great and healthy challenge. As one of the more cautious white church leaders in the South said to me: "If the CIO is doing these things, it sort of seems to put the churches on the spot." Well, our most dedicated religious leaders are ready to meet that challenge. In a Methodist Church in Montgomery, a dinner meeting was held. The ladies of the church served the dinner. It was for the U. S. Army Chaplains stationed throughout the South and was sponsored by the Federal Council of Churches. Most of the Army Chaplains at the meeting and dinner were white, but some were Negroes. There was no discrimination or segregation. Naturally there was some gossip and criticism, but the Methodist minister stood foursquare and defended the meeting. These Chaplains had studied and lived together in their preparatory training school at Harvard. They could meet and eat together in a Christian church in Alabama—free from the humiliating and unbrotherly atmosphere of Hitlerlike racial bigotry. And they did. While I was in Atlanta, I met white Methodist theologs from Emory and Negro Methodist theologs from Gammon, who had just returned from a week-end conference of the Interseminary Movement in the Southeast. The conference was held on a Presbyterian (U.S.A.) college campus in North Carolina while the college was in session. Testimony was unanimous that there had been unqualifiedly splendid hospitality on the part of the host college and student body, and ideal fellowship among the conference delegates—with not one iota of discrimination or segregation. With the end of Talmadge

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“... by his word he was known to be faithful ...”

Let us now praise famous men,  
By whom the Lord hath wrought great glory.  
Such as did bear rule in their kingdoms,  
And were men renowned for their power,  
Giving counsel by their understanding,  
Such as have brought tidings in prophecies:  
Leaders of the people by their counsels,  
And by their understanding men of learning for the  
people;  
Wise were their words in their instruction. . . .  
Men richly furnished with ability,  
Living peaceably in their habitations:  
All these were honored in their generations,  
And were the glory of their times.  
Yea, they were men of mercy,  
Whose righteous deeds have not been forgotten.  
—Ecclesiasticus 44:1-10.

Never since time began have so many millions of people mourned the death of a man as were stricken by grief and sense of personal loss in the passing of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. In part this is accounted for by the fact that the radio time and again had brought to their ears the sound of his voice, acquaintance with his fellow-feeling with all men, his deep humanitarianism, and his interest in making the conditions of living of all people everywhere more endurable. But only in part. It is accounted for also by what he was and what he did for his own nation and for the world. The weeks that have passed since the word of his sudden death was flashed to the ends of the earth have tempered the shock but they have served also to heighten the sense of appreciation of his service to the nation and to the world. Decades will pass before his place in the history of the centuries will be fully determined but already men who in the midst of the clash of conflicting policies, opinions, and beliefs had only words of harsh and bitter criticism are declaring that he stands out as one of America's greatest Presidents.

Again and again during these weeks men in widely different stations in life have expressed their sense of personal loss. In an extraordinary way Franklin Delano Roosevelt was a man “involved in mankind.”

The common people of all the world believed in him and loved him. They felt that he was one of them, that he had their interests at heart. On the evening of his death, opposite the 43d Street subway kiosk in New York City three Chinese women wept piteously, as if their hearts would break. At Grand Central Station an old Negro halted a young girl, tears streaming from his eyes: “Miss, did you hear the news? What will we do now?” On the front steps of a humble home in Brooklyn a little Jewish girl cried aloud. “What is the matter, little girl?”, a passer-by asked. “Why, don't you know? I've lost the best friend I have.” A housewife on Rivington Street was asked if she had heard the radio. “For what do I need a radio? It is on everybody's face.” The next morning in Chungking Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had begun breakfast when an aide brought him the news. He left his food untasted, said the aide, “and relapsed into sorrowful meditation.” From London, Harold J. Laski wrote, “From King and Queen and Prime Minister down to the ordinary man and woman the President's death seems a personal loss as in the case of no other foreign statesman since men

and women in the cotton towns of Lancashire wept openly at the death of Mr. Lincoln.” In all parts of the earth the sense of loneliness persists because he is gone. Africans, Belgians, French, Greeks, Italians, Poles, Serbs, Indians, Chinese, Filipinos—the hungry, the dispossessed, the oppressed, the suffering, in all areas of the globe feel a deepened sense of helplessness because he is no more. As a Congressman from Texas said to a newspaper correspondent: “The people who are crushed by the President's death are the little guys—the little guy down in my district who makes \$21.50 a week driving a truck and has a decent house to live in now, cheap, because of Mr. Roosevelt.” It may all be summed up by saying that millions upon millions of the common people of the earth feel that he was one of them, and that in his passing they have lost a part of themselves. To them he was a man in a place of great power who at the same time was a fellow human being—the symbol of their hope of justice, of security, of freedom, of release from intolerable oppression.

With the President's death in mind, Francis Hackett has recently written, “A democracy can become a community ‘only by living in the density of the real world, by nurturing the sense of real people . . . and striving for a cohesion of things consented to, things loved and desired and willed.’” For twelve years Roosevelt toiled at the task of making the United States a community—and more—of making what had become one world, a community. The universal sense of loss at his going is a measure of the extent of his contribution to this end.

An element in his humanitarianism was—what is so often lacking in men who are moved by a merely sentimental feeling of sympathy for the poor—a clear conviction that property values are insignificant and inconsequential in comparison with human values. He was anathema to many political leaders because the essence of their political creed is that the private-profit factor must be determining in the realm of politics and must dictate legislation and the ends of government. This idea was so foreign to his thinking that he was intolerant of the conduct of many members of Congress who on their part were incapable of understanding him. A Congressman, for years closer to the President than most, put it this way, “Whatever you talked to him about, whatever you asked him for—like projects for your district—there was just one way to figure it with him . . . the only test he had was this: Was it good for the folks?”

## Social Questions BULLETIN

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**The METHODIST FEDERATION  
for SOCIAL SERVICE**  
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JACK R. McMICHAEL

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Supplementing and undergirding Roosevelt's deep humanitarianism was his gift of social vision. Far more than was realized at the time of his election in the midst of the greatest economic crisis the nation had ever experienced he sensed its inner meaning. While other men were making foolish predictions of "a turn of the tide" soon to come automatically, he was courageously seeking for ways and means of dealing with basic causes. With magnificent courage he set himself to grapple realistically "with the two most crucial problems of the twentieth century: the need for orderly transition from an expansionist economy, with the emphasis on untrammelled individual initiative to a stabilized industrial system, with the emphasis on collective responsibility for social welfare; and the parallel need to fuse the aspirations of diverse nations, at widely different stages of development, in an international organization capable of assuring the security and welfare of all peoples."<sup>1</sup>

Roosevelt might have effected far more drastic changes during the depth of the depression than any that he brought to pass. Many social liberals felt, as some of us still feel, that he should have gone much farther in the direction of socialization than he did. It is probable that he sincerely desired to go farther but felt that, taking a long-range view, it would be better strategy to move gradually with such measure of support as could be mustered than to run the risk of precipitating a condition of internal strife from which a dictatorship might have emerged. At any rate it is significant that most of his measures, bitterly condemned by his antagonists at the time they were enacted, in the last presidential campaign were taken for granted as an accepted part of "the American way of life."

Following the news of the President's death the streets of the neighborhood in Brooklyn that saw the first rent strikes were packed with grief-stricken, weeping people. One seemed to speak for them all. "The load was too much for him. He had to carry too much. We didn't help him enough, we didn't help him enough." The instinctive feeling of this plain man was sound. *We did not help him enough.* As Mrs. Roosevelt said, "The responsibility which he carried now belongs to us all." Perhaps that was what the London postman had in mind when he said, "Now that we have lost him, we must try to find him."

The Roosevelt administration made significant contribution toward reshaping American civilization. The President has left an impress upon the ways of thinking and the culture of America greater than that of any other President with the exception of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. The United States will never again be the nation that it was in 1928-32. Not again will there be the stolid cold-heartedness and sullen indifference of "the haves" and the sense of utter helplessness of "the have-nots." Never again will so many people be saying such things as "any man who really wants work can find it"; "he was a poor manager or he wouldn't have lost his farm"; "we will always have the poor with us—we always have and we always will." Nevertheless, it should be realized that none of the problems with which Roosevelt grappled so stubbornly have been solved. There have been changes for the better; there has been amelioration; new methods for dealing with unsocial conditions have been accepted. But basic causes remain with us and again will arise to plague us. A war economy has thrust them temporarily into the background but they still exist, to reappear when hostilities have ceased and the accumulated volume of consumer demand has been satisfied. It is the sheerest folly to forget or ignore the fact that in the last pre-war year, 1939, there were still some eight to ten million unemployed in the United States and our national income was only seventy billion. What reason to hope that monopoly capitalism will or can provide jobs for sixty million workers and achieve a national income more than double that of 1939?

Reaction will come. And with reaction many of the

problems of the early thirties will recur. What then? What will we have learned from Franklin Delano Roosevelt—the man—that will help us? What can we now begin to do that will help the man who in the coming days of renewed crisis will be in that terribly difficult place—the Presidency? We suggest three things.

*We can put loyalty to the common welfare above loyalty to party.* Roosevelt transcended party. This is a fact of which far too little has been made in the flood of tributes that have followed in the wake of his passing. He was the acknowledged leader of the Democratic party but unlike multitudes of our citizens—including, it is sad to say, many ministers—his deepest loyalties were not to a party but to the common welfare. Our country needs more citizens who view questions of policy not from the standpoint of party shibboleths but from that of human needs.

*We can work for the election to Congress of more men of social vision and of broad human sympathies, independent of party affiliation.* A charge frequently made against Roosevelt during recent years has been that he could not cooperate with Congress. Those who were most vehement in the charge seemingly overlooked the fact that cooperation is two-sided. If the Executive and Congress are to cooperate there must be mutual desire and purpose of cooperation. The charge points to a principal element in our responsibility—yours and mine: to elect the kind of Congress with which a socially sensitive Executive can work without stultifying his conscience and betraying his principles. The charge, as usually made, has carried the assumption that it was wholly the President's fault, utterly ignoring any presumption that culpability might inhere in Congress. So long as we have a Congress of which a majority, either habitually or on occasions when particular issues are involved, make the common welfare subservient to special-group interest, or class interest, it will be to the shame of the Executive if he does cooperate with Congress.

*We can face a troubled future without fear.* This doubtless is the greatest lesson we have to learn from our lamented President. His expression of faith—"the only thing we have to fear is fear itself"—was made a part of the order of service used at the funeral at the special request of Mrs. Roosevelt.

As we move forward, not knowing what lies ahead, let us be renewed in courage by remembrance of the President who lived and wrought during the most difficult and troublous era in the nation's history, laboring under a crippling physical handicap, always as a man unafraid. On the night before he died he wrote, in what proved to be his final message, words which were an echo of the undying declaration of twelve years before, "The only limitation to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today."

O God, from Whom every good gift cometh, we thank Thee for the qualities of heart and mind which this Thy servant brought to the service of our nation and our world. For steadfast courage in adversity; for clear vision of dangers to which many shut their eyes; for sympathy with the hungers and fears of common men; for trials met without surrender, and weakness endured without defeat; for unyielding faith in the possibility of a more just and ordered world, delivered from the ancient curse of war; we praise Thee, O God. . . . Quicken and knit together in common loyalty the wills of this whole people that we may resolutely take to ourselves the responsibilities bequeathed to us by our stricken leader. . . . Make ready our shoulders to carry the burdens of victory; to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to free the oppressed and to lay the foundation for a more just and ordered common life for all Thy people.—Bishop Angus Dun.

<sup>1</sup> Vera Micheles Dean in *Foreign Policy Bulletin*, April 20, 1945, p. 1.



# "The Under-Industrialized"

EVERETT M. STOWE<sup>1</sup>

A social question of major dimensions for our world is precipitated by the plans for industrialization on the part of countries that heretofore have belonged to "the under-industrialized." This term is part of the title of a series of lectures currently being given at Columbia University by P. C. Chang, a Chinese scholar and diplomat. It is fitting that the subject be dealt with by a Chinese; his country is one of those determined to depart with all possible speed from the list of the under-industrialized.

This term suggests another: *under-nourishment*. Implicit in it is the idea that there is a definite optimum standard of nutrition which may be measured with exactness in units of calories, vitamins, and so forth. For the *under-industrialized* what norm is there for the units of economic productivity and financial well-being?

However that standard is conceived, one thing is now plain: the results of industrialization are soon to extend into many new regions. Another thing, not so plain but equally important, is the consequences for modes of living and habits of thought of the people who adopt industrialization for themselves. A third point for consideration concerns new relationships between the peoples of these regions and the advanced industrial countries that in the past have looked to them only as sources of raw materials.

## *Nascent industrialization*

Turn to two great blocs of humanity, India and China, for indications of the coming industrialization. As for India, World War II already has wrought great changes in her industrial situation. The Empire suddenly found it a matter of life and death to utilize the industrial potential of the vast sub-continent that is India. Shortly after the outbreak of the war India was divided into six areas, each of which was intensively studied for its resources in raw materials and manufacturing. The result was a sudden vast development of India industry.

Great factories were constructed which are turning out articles by the many million. Of clothing alone 10,000,000 garments are being made annually. Four million pairs of shoes are being made per year. Altogether over 700 items are being fabricated for war purposes. "Bevin boys" have been sent from India to England as industrial trainees to get the necessary "know-how." Here is missionary work in a new area.

In the light of the speed with which this industrial production has proved to be possible under the spur of war-time needs, it is understandable that Indian industrialists should have developed a plan for industry in the post-war period. It is called the Bombay plan. As reported in the *Far Eastern Survey* for March 8, 1944, the following are outstanding features:

The plan covers a fifteen-year period.  
It calls for the expenditure of \$30,000,000,000.  
Railways are to be extended from 42,000 to 161,000 miles.  
The highway mileage of 800,000 miles is to be doubled.  
Industrial output is to be quintupled.  
Per capita income is to be doubled.  
National income is to be raised from \$22,000,000,000 to \$66,000,000,000.

The feasibility of the plan from the standpoint of industry and of economics is something for experts in those fields to pass judgment on. But that the plan exists at all has a significance past all doubting. A lesson of great potency has been impressed with finality upon the mind of Indian

leaders of industry, learned from observing industrialization in Japan, in Russia, and within her own borders.

Or turn to China. China, too, has an up-to-date plan for industrialization. In earlier form the outline was prepared by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in his "The International Development of China." Later leaders modified the plan in line with developing conditions. In the years just before the Sino-Japanese war of 1937 amazing progress was made in translating that industrial ideal into concrete fact.

The latest formulation of China's industrial plan has been made with the assistance of the Foreign Economic Administration of the U. S. Government. Fifty experts of the FEA, it was reported in the *New York Times* for February 20, 1945, labored at it for a period of eighteen months. Their findings fill twelve volumes. The plan is called a "kernel plan." The objective, state the FEA officials, is the "making of the tools of industry with which China can mold her own future." The "kernel" however, is a sizable one. It calls for the expenditure of \$1,000,000,000, U. S. currency. There are to be constructed 104 *kinds* of factories. The program in its initial phase calls for 953 plants.

Testimony on this intent to industrialize and the underlying reasons are well summed up in a conversation between the president of one of our largest ship-building companies and a national of Mexico, Professor G. Baez-Camargo. Talking about war production and the possible cooperation of his country, Mr. Camargo asked, "In your opinion, what is the role of Latin America in the defense of the continent?" "To produce raw materials, plenty of raw materials, for us," was the instant reply. "Yes, that is one of the things," Mr. Camargo agreed. "That is the one thing you should do," insisted the ship-builder.

Mr. Camargo then pointed out that the position of a country limited to the production of raw materials is always an inferior one. It tends to become an economic colony of a highly industrialized country. It must sell its materials at any price. "You must help us," he said, "to improve the production of raw materials but also to become industrial countries ourselves. Economic freedom becomes possible for a country only when it becomes capable of industrializing its own resources and does not have to beg by the roadside for someone to buy them."<sup>1</sup>

In this conversation is epitomized the argument that has become axiomatic for many in the under-industrialized regions. Their only question is as to ways and means to realize this goal in the shortest possible time.

## *New modes of living and thought*

Plans such as these are far more than material and economic in their consequences. A transition from agrarian to mechanical ways of production result in profound modifications of the social structure. Inward changes of mental attitude and of ethical valuation are less tangible but not less important. Bertrand Russell noted one aspect of this when he said that the intensity of the religious belief of sailors is in inverse ratio to the size of their vessels.

The Industrial Revolution of the past 150 years had many aspects that were horrible. Blackened country-sides, human beings crowded into rabbit-warrens for dwellings, stunted bodies, the toll of maimed physiques, the cry of the children, the gearing of human flesh to the speed of an assembly belt—these have been some of the costs of acquiring the increased productive power of mechanical energy.

The opportunity America has had to grow up with the machine and to adjust gradually to its influence will not characterize the under-industrialized. For they take over perfected techniques bodily. We have won a certain im-

<sup>1</sup> Everett M. Stowe for twenty years has been a missionary of the Methodist Church in China; from 1928 to 1943 on the Faculty of Fukien Christian University, Foochow.

<sup>1</sup> *The Church and the New World Mind*, Drake Conference Lectures, Bethany Press, St. Louis, 1944, p. 156.



munity to the worst consequences of industrialization, through labor union demands for better conditions and pay, and by a measure of enlightened social legislation. This immunity will not be easily won by the dense populations of the East.

Living illustration of this can be seen today in the *chawls* of Bombay. It was tragically evident in the mills of Shanghai before the war.

Eleanor Hinder in "Social and Industrial Problems of Shanghai" tells of tiny children standing for an eleven-hour day in a steamy atmosphere, little bodies swaying from one tired foot to another, a stern overseer ready to beat the faltering. One child told an investigator of what happened when a mistake was made:

"... the foreman could shut you up at night in a wooden cage; it is a very small cage. You cannot lie down there."

The influence of a machine civilization is felt not only by the individual. Social groupings inherited from the past receive a shattering impact under this new productive system. In his book, "China Enters the Machine Age" (Harvard University Press, 1944), Mr. Shih Kuo-heng indicates some of these outcomes. He says that "industrial development in China means the repudiation or readaptation of an entire culture." This spells crisis for any society. The worker, he continues, goes from a well-integrated society (that of the time-honored ways of village life) to a society "where he does not know where his group's responsibility begins or ends." So many were the difficulties of integrating adult labor into factory procedures that the managers of one factory in Yunnan, he reports, had to develop an entirely new scheme. Apprentice training was carried on in a strict training camp instituted in the factory. The young boys had no previously fixed occupational habits and no prejudice against rigid organization. The managers believe, he concludes, that they have here discovered the fundamental solution to their labor problem.

This gives point in living fact to thoughts expressed by Berdjaev. Writing on the advent of the machine he says, "An unexampled revolution and crisis in the human species has taken place. . . . I have in mind the changes associated with the introduction of machinery into the life of human societies. I believe that the triumphant advent of the machine constitutes one of the greatest revolutions in human destiny. We have not yet made a just estimate of its importance."<sup>1</sup>

Now this is not to assume the indefinite multiplication of machines throughout all society. Lewis Mumford has this to say: "As social life becomes mature, the social unemployment of machines will become as marked as the present technological unemployment of men." ("Technics and Civilization," Harcourt Brace & Co., 1934, p. 426.) Yet for under-industrialized regions, it will be some time before there will be anything but a hunger for more and yet more of industrial capacity, with all of its foreseen and unforeseen consequences for human living.

#### *World economy and world community*

Leaders of under-industrialized nations are not likely to be deterred by problems precipitated by industrialization. For they are firmly convinced of the point stated by the economist Eugene Staley, who says "It cannot too often be repeated that the improvement in living standards depends fundamentally on improvement in the capacity of a people to produce."

Altered relationships in *world economy* will be as marked a result of the process now impending as changes within national economies. The economic unit of a technological age with its complex inter-relationships becomes nothing less than planetary in scope. Evidences of this are easily brought to mind: the reciprocal trade treaties of Mr. Hull, the growth

of cartels, the prominence of world trade in discussions of post-war adjustments, and so on.

A world economy demands a new outlook, characterized by trans-national thinking, international planning, and by super-national administration and law.

How curiously the conditions for this parallel the world community which the Church in its modern expansion has been laying foundations for. As the forces of world economy penetrate through industrialization into regions heretofore characterized by local economy only, it will find that the Church has preceded it by many decades.

Now comes the insistent question of how the Church is to be related to problems generated among the under-industrialized as the movement toward use of the machine gets under way. A keen Chinese graduate student had this to say of the efforts of many missionaries, using a pointed Chinese proverb: "They scratch—but not where it itches." In somewhat more dignified terms R. H. Tawney describes the failure of religious leaders in the age of the rise of modern capitalistic society to make their ethical doctrines relevant to a new range of human need. "Religion," he says, "has been converted from the keystone which held together the social edifice into one department within it." Sensitive religious leaders, he continues, became conscious that the traditional doctrines of social ethics belonged to the conditions of a vanished age. Yet, this leading scholar concludes, "they lacked the creative energy to state them anew, in a form applicable to the needs of a more complex and mobile social order."<sup>2</sup>

Modern communications and industry produce a powerful trend toward a world economy. Doubts on the unifying power of such secular forces are voiced by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who said, "The secular movement of the world is not toward peace or mutual understanding and appreciation; rather it is toward more intense and fiercer competition, conflict, and war between larger and ever yet larger concentrations of power. That power may be economic or military or both, but the movement toward greater concentrations of power and keener competition between them is the mark of our period of history."<sup>2</sup>

But this is, providentially, not the last word, for the same writer continues: "But there is another side to the picture. As though in preparation for such a time as this God has been building up a Christian fellowship which now extends into almost every nation, and binds them all together in true unity and love."

A new page in history is being turned by the plans of "the under-industrialized," set forth in the foregoing. A new challenge to Christian thought and fellowship is thereby established. A new ministry is called for in answer to the insistent question, "Can an industrial society be free?"

There are available new patterns of economic relationships. The Tennessee Valley Authority, for instance, demonstrates that the efficiency that comes from the unitary development of a river system is not inconsistent with a democratic economy in the local communities served by this development. In industry itself decentralization has been going on whereby parts are contracted for by smaller units; work is done in communities where wholesome living is aided by gardens and a relation to the organic processes of nature. Further, cooperative endeavors have gone far beyond the experimental stage; in Sweden and in China, Rochdale cooperatives demonstrate a feasible way of working out a civil and economic equivalent of a theology of brotherhood. To millions in the East the transformation of life in Russia under the leadership of the Soviet is a beacon star of hope.

The under-industrialized who acquire our developed machines deserve to have made available our highest insights and most penetrating thought on the use of these machines for the enrichment and not the impoverishment of life.

<sup>1</sup> *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, Harcourt Brace & Co., 1926, p. 281.

<sup>2</sup> *The Church Looks Forward*, Macmillan, 1944, p. 1.

<sup>1</sup> *The Meaning of History*, Scribners, New York, 1932, p. 152 f.



# It Can Happen Here

## A Local Community Incident

LEE H. BALL

The little summer community is fifty miles from New York City. The eight-mile circumference of its lake is surrounded by fine hotels and lovely estates. During the past three or four years, most of the property has been sold to Jewish purchasers from the city. The community is fortunate in that the Jewish newcomers represent a splendid class of people, wealthy, generous, civic-minded and progressive. The Methodist minister has tried to prevent the usual spirit of anti-Semitism which arises in such a situation by means of projects each summer in which the "year-round" and "summer" people work together, and so get to know one another. One summer it was a committee for Loyalist Spain, another summer it was United China Relief, then Russian War Relief, finally the National War Fund. The minister acted as chairman of these campaigns, and gathered a committee, fifty-fifty, of year-round and summer residents. A by-product of this activity was the renovation of the Methodist parsonage, sponsored jointly by Jews and Methodists. The renovation project was paid for in cash, at a cost of more than a thousand dollars. We believe that in the main a fine spirit exists in the community, and that the anti-Semitic attitude is at a minimum.

But in the last week of the summer of 1944 an unhappy incident occurred. One dark night vicious notes were written and placed in the mail boxes of six or eight owners in one of the Jewish summer residential sections, reading, "Get out, you ——— Christ Killers!" Some of his Jewish friends called the Methodist minister, and informed him of what had happened. At the same time the victims of this insult informed the local policeman, and the State Troopers.

The Methodist minister resolved to condemn this occurrence in his sermon the following Sunday, and to ask every other Christian clergyman in the community to join him in doing so. He wrote an account of what had taken place, and an exhortation to voice the protest of the Christian conscience of the community, and took a copy personally to each clergyman, to ask his cooperation.

First he went to the Episcopal rector. He read the paper, asked to be excused, took it upstairs for his wife to read. He came down saying he would have nothing whatever to do with it, for it might mean trouble.

"That's true, it might mean trouble," the Methodist replied. "But since when has the avoidance of trouble been our first consideration?"

"That is just what I don't like about you," answered the rector.

The Presbyterian church had no minister just then, their pastor having gone into service as a chaplain. The Baptist Fundamentalist said he would pray over the matter. The Roman Catholic priest was suffering from gout and would not receive any visitors. The Methodist minister sent in his paper, and requested that the priest phone him about his decision.

When he returned home, the Methodist minister found a phone call awaiting him from the Episcopal rector. The rector had phoned the policeman, and the policeman had told him he wanted the ministers to keep still about the matter.

The Methodist minister went over to see the local policeman. "What good do you think your statement would do?" the officer asked. "It will express the Christian conscience of the town on the matter, and it needs expression," the minister answered. The policeman's protest was (a) that the minister merely wanted some sensational "tabloid" pub-

licity; (b) nobody knew about it now, and to tell everybody about it would make it more difficult to find the author of the notes; (c) to talk about it would only add fuel to the fire and make things worse.

The minister made answer that all the Jewish people knew about it, and in a belligerent tone the policeman added, "I hope they do!" The minister said that it was an illusion that such a thing could be kept quiet, whether the churches talked about it or not, that the worst thing that could happen would be if no protest came from the Christian community. One need take only a good look at Europe to see where the hush-hush policy got one, the minister went on.

The policeman then said it was a prank played by children, and would be a sad mistake to take it seriously. The minister rejoined that if it were done by children, that did not absolve the adults of the Christian community from responsibility; in fact, only increased the adult responsibility. However, the minister stated he believed it was not the work of children. One of his Jewish friends, a manufacturer, stayed home from business one day and made his own survey of the mail boxes. In each case, it was an owner, not a renter, who was threatened. It was the work of someone who knew that section of town perfectly. Moreover, four mail boxes were defaced around one house in which lived a "Christian" of known anti-Semitic attitude. Besides, the paper and penmanship were not child's work. Also, one Jewish home insulted by one of these notes had, two weeks before, one Sunday afternoon received an anonymous abusive phone call of similar purport, and the voice definitely was a man's voice and not a child's voice. The minister asked the policeman to talk to his Jewish friend, and analyze his suspicions. The policeman said he would do so.

On Sunday morning, the Methodist minister did voice the protest of the Christian community. Some half-dozen members of the Jewish community were present also. He explained the arguments presented to him for keeping silent (the policeman had sent two or three Jewish men to see him, repeating the arguments for silence,) and why he could not respect those arguments. The reaction of the congregation was unanimously favorable.

He was the only minister in the community who mentioned the matter.

On Monday morning the minister heard, when he went down the street, that the policeman had questioned the sixteen-year-old son of the man suspected by the Jewish manufacturer; that this boy admitted defacing the mail boxes, and brazenly asked what anybody could do about it.

The Episcopal rector was right. He might have gotten into trouble. The boy and his family were communicants of his church in the summer, and of the Church of the Heavenly Rest in the city in the winter. The children, besides living on Park Avenue, attended the most expensive private schools.

Nothing whatever was done to the boy.

## An Inter-racial Student Conference

Ninety-five white and Negro students of seventeen Georgia colleges, with twenty-eight adult advisers and leaders, participated in the eleventh annual two-day Institute on Socio-Religious Affairs at Paine College, Augusta, Georgia. Paine College, it should be noted, is a Methodist college for Negroes.

Following an opening worship service, the conference theme, Social Action Necessary to Implement Democracy, was presented in a brief introductory address. William Y. Bell, Jr., the speaker, suggested certain questions for thought and group discussion in relation to the conference theme—



among others, these: How can young people influence political action? The church in the past has initiated social action, the founding of hospitals, establishing orphanages and homes for the aged: in what types of social action should it engage today? Stuart Chase and many others have declared that it is impossible in America to achieve a stable economy without national planning: why then do so many men who would not think of conducting their businesses without the most detailed planning object to planning on a national scale? There is much agitation for reverting to "free private enterprise": is it free enterprise when a few companies control all of one industry in the nation? How can power necessary to guarantee security be developed and the undemocratic domination of a few be avoided?

All participants then divided into the following five groups: (1) Political Action Necessary to Implement Democracy; (2) Economic Action Necessary to Implement Democracy; (3) Education Necessary to Implement Democracy; (4) International Action Necessary to Implement Democracy; (5) The Church and Social Action. Each group was organized inter-racially with a student leader, student secretary, adult adviser, and adult resource person. Findings of each were reported to the total group.

#### *Personal testimonies*

Near the close of the session a number of students spoke on what the conference had meant to them. We quote a few of the statements:

**PAINE COLLEGE.**—At three preceding Institutes I have remained a little doubtful as to the genuine interest of the white students; but now I believe in their sincerity, and I am determined to work for better relations.

**GAMMON SEMINARY.**—This conference is helping us who are truly building for the future. Christianity should mean something more than we are already doing, something added on.

**WESLEYAN.**—This is my first conference at Paine College and for the first time I experience a sort of peace I have always longed for. I feel the peace here because there is a completely democratic spirit, a true bond of brotherhood.

**EMORY UNIVERSITY.**—We knew all this theoretically before we came here. Now we know it in our hearts. People will think us queer. We must be thought queer if we are truly Christian.

**ALBANY STATE.**—This is the first meeting of this kind I have ever attended, and I am deeply impressed. Never before have I seen such real brotherly love. I am determined as I go into a rural community to teach, to work for better racial understanding.

**LA GRANGE.**—Some of our fellow students thought us queer to attend a conference with Negroes. Now we can go back and tell them of what we know from experience. I am so impressed with the optimism and fine spirit the Negro students show.

#### *On-going inter-racial activities*

Students were not content merely with talk. Before the conference closed they resolved to maintain a continuing program and to publish a mimeographed sheet reporting campus activities that promote inter-racial understanding and good will. The February and March issues of this sheet—*Ideals in Practice*—report numerous activities. Here are some:

**MOREHOUSE COLLEGE.**—Students of Morehouse participate in monthly meetings of the Atlanta Inter-Collegiate Council and Forum in which ways and means of promoting improved race relations, appreciation of races, and racial contributions to American culture are considered.

**SPELMAN COLLEGE.**—Recently a member of the Senior class participated in programs for white groups—one at Emory University and another at the First Methodist Church. Another student is teacher of a Sunday-school class at the Central Congregational Church, one of Atlanta's

largest white churches, teaching a group of white pupils.

**GEORGIA STATE COLLEGE FOR WOMEN.**—A number of students and faculty are members of an inter-racial group which meets in a local Negro high school; each meeting includes a discussion and a period of recreation.

**PAINE COLLEGE.**—At a forum on race relations conducted by the Epworth League a Paine College student listed specific steps that can be taken by members of each group in bettering race relations: (1) "White people can use courtesy titles when speaking to Negroes, or about them; (2) they can work against segregation on public carriers; (3) they can write letters to local radio stations suggesting that Negro artists and leaders be invited to participate on programs and forums; (4) they can work for the abolition of the poll tax and of the white primary, and for non-discrimination in employment." Negroes, she suggested, (1) can report to proper authorities unfair treatment on buses and streetcars; (2) invite more white speakers to their churches and clubs; (3) write more letters to their local newspapers; (4) refrain from being too noisy in public places.

## Race Discrimination

**HOUSING RIGHTS DEMANDED.**—In the U. S. District Court, Washington, D. C., suit has been filed by the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) in behalf of three Negro employees of the Red River Ordnance plant near Texarkana, Tex. The suit alleges that the Red River Housing Project was built for the specific purpose of housing Negro war workers because of their inability to obtain suitable housing in the Texarkana area, thereby "seriously impeding the manufacture of essential war materials." When completed, some 200 Negro war workers signed application for housing. Whereupon, it is charged in the suit, "in response to the demands of white persons of influence in and about Texarkana," the National Housing Agency administrator "arbitrarily determined and ordered that the plaintiffs and all other Negroes should be excluded solely because of their race and color." This suit should be carefully watched.

**EDITORS FOR FRANCHISE REFORM.**—The extent of socially reactionary dominance over the press of the nation is reason for serious concern. But the picture is not wholly dark. A ray of light comes from the South as evidenced by the recent Conference of Southern Editors and Writers convened for the purpose of exchange of views on prevailing restriction of the franchise. More than fifty editors and writers attended, among them representatives of some of the oldest and best-known papers of the South. No formal resolutions were passed or commitments recorded but the general tenor of the Conference was strongly for reform. There was agreement among those participating that the right of the Negro to the vote must be recognized, that public sentiment on the poll tax is in advance of the views of politicians, and that effective ways of franchise reform must be found.

**HEALTH CONDITIONS REFLECT ECONOMIC STATUS.**—The extent to which inadequate income affects health is indicated by statistics released by the Tennessee Department of Public Health. Twenty per cent of the Tennessee population is colored. The death rate of Negroes from tuberculosis is about three times as great as that of whites; the maternal death is nearly twice as great; the infant also twice as great. Education on problems of health, the Department contends, is greatly needed. But more is required. Better housing and better medical care also are necessities and these can come only as income among Negroes is increased. The Department emphasizes that life-destroying forces "will not disappear as the result of merely holding 'conferences,' drawing up and passing 'resolutions' or from much talking and little action."



# The Next Ten Years

(Continued from page 3)

of the whole world. To what extent monopolistic agreements may have had to do with bringing on this war, only history will later reveal.

6. *The most important thing we shall have to decide is whether we can and will maintain full and uninterrupted employment on a really free enterprise basis.* If we do not, we shall have a repetition of what followed in the decade after the last war.

These points are illustrative of our immediate responsibilities. The next ten-year period will, it is my belief, determine the course of world events for the next century—let us hope for longer, if it is on the social side.

As a representative of a farm organization that is an ardent supporter of the development of cooperatives, it has been my purpose to discover a means through which voluntary organization effort could make its greatest contribution in influencing economic action on the social side in the next ten years.

I know of no other economic movement that has made any such headway in putting economic power back into the hands of the people on a solely democratic basis, as the cooperative movement. Its primary motivation is social, and it carries that motivation over into a widely expanding program of distribution and production. It liberates the restrictiveness of the existing economic system wherever it exists in a purely evolutionary way and without support of government.

The sum and substance of what I have said is that the economic system must be social enough in its operations to leave sufficient money in it to keep production at full capacity. That has not been true in the past. The cooperative movement is founded solely on such a principle of operation. If that principle is recognized, we shall have made a good start in the next ten years toward a long and durable peace. If it isn't, the probable result will be some form of stateism.

## Cooperation

**NORTHWEST COOP MILLS.**—Under this name a new inter-regional cooperative, with an initial capitalization of \$100,000 begins the manufacture of mill feeds, soy bean products, and fertilizer. A joint venture of Midland, Central Co-op Wholesale, and Farmers Union Central Exchange, it will start by operating on a rental basis the feed mill of the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association in the Twin Cities. "The significance of the new venture," according to A. J. Hayes, manager of Central Cooperative Wholesale, is that "the members and directors of these three regionals, operating in the same geographic area, are increasingly veering toward the idea that to build a greater cooperative movement in the North Central states we should not duplicate our efforts, but should go into processing production, insurance, and finance jointly."

**COOPERATORS WIN LEGISLATIVE VICTORIES.**—With the evident aim of forestalling the organization of genuine medical cooperatives the Minnesota State Medical Association recently sponsored a medical care bill containing the provision that only 21 doctors could set up a medical care plan in the state. In spite of an opinion by the attorney-general that the measure would effectively "prohibit citizens who are not doctors of medicine from forming a non-profit medical service plan corporation" the bill passed the House by a vote of 78 to 43. In the Senate the first test came on an amendment to make the provision for 21 doctors permissive rather than mandatory. This amendment was defeated by a vote of 50 to 42. In the meantime, cooperatives and other public interest organizations got busy. Under date of April 12 a Minneapolis CLNS release

carried the news that the bill had been passed after being amended to preserve the rights of cooperatives and other persons than doctors to participate in the organization of medical care plans.

The Minnesota action followed by less than a month the defeat in the Kansas legislature of an attempt to saddle punitive taxes on cooperatives of that state. SB 170, if enacted, would have taxed as income to cooperatives all savings retained longer than sixty days after the end of the tax year. Eight hundred farmers, representing all sections of the state, descended on the legislature on March 8 to tell their representatives in emphatic language their opinion of the attempt of profit-business interests to foist unreasonable taxes on their cooperatives. "The demonstration was described as the most dramatic since the days of the 'Populists.'" Thousands of other co-op members wrote letters and wired their representatives to leave the state's income tax act alone.

**IMPORTANT COOPERATIVE CREDIT GROUP DEBT FREE.**—Organized under the Farm Credit Act of 1933, the Kewanee (Illinois) Production Credit Association is the first cooperative credit association to become wholly owned by its farmer members. Originally most of the capital was supplied by the Production Credit Corporation of St. Louis. Beginning in November, 1933, with 13 farmers as charter members, the Association closed its 1944 fiscal year with 590 farm members and total capital—following payment of \$60,000 to liquidate its indebtedness—of \$132,875 all of which was owned by farmers. A number of members who subscribed for additional stock in order to free the association from debt stated "that they might not personally need the credit services of their association but that their sons intended to succeed them in farming and they wanted to make certain their own cooperative production credit association would be there to serve their sons in time of future need."



Harper in The Birmingham Age-Herald

"Remember the way we went last time?"



# Social Issues in Today's World

## The Public Welfare

**TOO FREE "FREE ENTERPRISE."**—The Department of Justice has filed criminal actions in Danville, Ill., against the A & P—otherwise the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, eleven of its affiliates and sixteen of its officers. The Administration, committed to "the preservation of the free enterprise system," is evidently of the opinion that A & P is a bit too free. The trial, it is predicted, may last several months for the Government has been forehanded in accumulating evidence and has mountains of it to present. In essence the Government's charge is that A & P is well on the way toward complete domination of the food industry; that it now controls coffee; and if expansion is permitted to continue at the rate of the past thirty years, within another fifteen years Americans will eat what A & P allows them to eat and for it will pay what A & P determines. In substantiation the Government points to increase in sales from 31 million dollars in 1914 to \$11,378,666,000 in 1941; to its practice, so it charges, of forcing manufacturing canners and processors to maintain two price levels—one for A & P and another for A & P competitors; and to its further practice of getting options to purchase and handle practically entire crops of fruits, vegetables, and produce, "thereby substantially depriving competitors of access to such products."

The Government in the course of the trial proposes to present in detail cases in which A & P in loyalty to "free enterprise" forced competitors into liquidation by selling below cost, going into selected communities and lowering its prices to an extent competitors were unable to meet, continuing the policy until they were forced out of business. The effect of its practices, the Justice Department declares, is "to directly, unreasonably, and substantially restrain a large part of the trade and commerce in food and food products among most of the states of the United States; to injure and destroy food manufacturers, wholesalers, processors, canners, and thousands of independent retail food dealers; . . . to vest in the defendants dominance and control of the distribution of food and food products in a preponderance of the largest trade areas of the United States; and to make it impossible for hundreds of thousands of non-integrated independents and small chains to enter into or remain in competition with the defendants."

**PRICE CONTROL ACT SHOULD BE RENEWED.**—The present act expires on June 30, 1945. Crippling amendments are being pushed by powerful "Me Firsters" groups. Hearings have been in progress for weeks before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. On a single day lobbyist mouthpieces for four powerful groups appeared, each to profess belief in price control in general, and then to make tearful appeals for special dispensation on the ground of poverty and persecution. Real estate operators demanded "exemption of new construction"; the department store and retail dry goods block clamored for permission to increase prices on individual items and for other concessions; the meat packers pled for an amendment applying the "special product" standard to their profit-swollen industry; and the dairy interests insisted on a six-cent increase in the market price for butter. So it has gone: representatives of all types of special-interest groups pleading for concessions. Significantly, few embarrassing questions have been asked at any time about current profits and some Senators have expressed sympathy. Senator Taft, for example, on the particular day mentioned, came to the support of the plea of the meat packers, presenting an exhibit of his own. On the other hand representatives of

numerous consumer groups have testified to the need for continuance of price control without crippling amendments. The country at large should be heard from. Remember that in the first World War period the greatest inflation came after the war had ended, and write your representatives to continue price control *even if the war should end.*

**SUPPORT NATIONAL FEPC.**—Another control in danger of being allowed to lapse is the FEPC, which will dissolve on June 30 unless its appropriation is renewed. S101 and HR2232 provide authorization for a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission. This legislation should be passed before possibility develops of a postwar slump in employment. Justice to minority groups—notably thirteen million Negroes, but also Jews, Japanese-Americans, Filipino-Americans, and others—requires this legislation. Equality of opportunity for employment is an essentially American principle and now is the time to implement it by necessary legislation. The House may have voted on HR2232 before this BULLETIN reaches its readers, but early action on S101 appears unlikely. Senate opponents will probably attempt parliamentary delays or even an all-out filibuster. Your Congressmen need the stimulus of your request for support of the bill.

**GANNETT ORGANIZATION REBUFFED.**—Decision recently announced by the Treasury, in response to the appeal of Rep. Clinton P. Anderson, N. M., Chairman of the House Committee on Campaign Expenditures, that persons and corporations making contributions to the Committee for Constitutional Government, either directly or indirectly, could not subtract the donations from their income for tax purposes is a cause of no little grief both to the organization and to numerous individuals and big-business groups. Under pretense of being an "educational" agency the committee, of which Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, former Methodist minister, now pastor of the Marble Collegiate Church in New York City, is chairman, is said to have collected and expended immense sums of money. There is no question but what the committee has put anti-democratic propaganda on a mass production basis. Now the Bureau of Internal Revenue proposes to investigate past income tax returns made by wealthy contributors during the life of the Gannett organization.

Mr. Anderson's committee exposed the techniques of the CCG for securing contributions. A favorite method has been to print vast quantities of propaganda material and "sell" it at an exorbitant price to corporation heads. Not less than 82 million pieces of "literature," it is asserted, have been so disposed of. In his address in the House on March 13, Representative Anderson read a letter he had written under date of February 12, 1945 to Commissioner Joseph D. Noonan, Jr., of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, giving in detail specific examples of the procedure used by the committee.<sup>1</sup> In reply the Commissioner stated that the Committee had failed to qualify for exemption; that contributions to it would not be deductible; and that, if examinations of returns showed deductions made as business expense, they would be disallowed.

**PROPOSED 22ND AMENDMENT.**—A chief activity of the Committee for Constitutional Government for months past has been its effort to influence state legislatures to approve an amendment to the Constitution limiting federal income and gift taxes to 25 per cent, save in time of war. As proposed, the amendment would repeal the 16th amendment, cut government revenues, it is estimated, by six

<sup>1</sup> Congressional Record, House, March 13, 1945, pp. 2193 ff.



billion dollars, and greatly increase the proportionate post-war tax burden of persons of the lower income tax brackets. So unobtrusively and disingenuously has the propaganda campaign been carried forward that seventeen state legislatures have been induced to pass the Committee's resolution in favor of the amendment calling upon Congress to convoke a constitutional convention for its consideration. Approval by 32 states will leave Congress no choice but to call the convention. Gradually, however, the people have been awakening to the real significance of the movement and popular opposition is steadily developing. To the date of this writing, three of seventeen state legislatures have rescinded their former approval of the amendment and in others rescinding resolutions are pending (including Indiana, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island). In Georgia, Maryland, Nebraska, Ohio, Oregon, and Texas resolutions have been submitted and are pending.

**YOUR NAME AND ADDRESS RETAILED.**—If soon you begin to receive, free, an increased quantity of propaganda of various sorts and seek an explanation, the following letter, mimeographed and widely distributed, may interest you: "AMERICA'S FUTURE, 205 E. 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y. April 11, 1945. Dear Sir: We have a carefully compiled, up-to-date stencil list of 20 denominations of the Protestant clergy. We enclose a breakdown of the denominations covered by this list of 74,814 Protestant clergy names. . . . When run by denomination, the names are offered at \$7.50 per thousand. . . . Special discount on run of 20,000 or more, 20 per cent. . . . Clergymen as a class are more responsive than perhaps any other group when appeal is properly phrased. For further information, please write, wire, or phone for attention of: Stephanie A. Howard." The attached "break-down, by denominations" is headed "Committee for Constitutional Government," with same address as "America's Future."

**IMPORTANT TO DISTINGUISH.**—Do not confuse the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, also located at 205 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y. with the above. The two organizations are entirely distinct in personnel and objectives. NFCL is calling upon the Truman administration to conserve the social gains made under Roosevelt's leadership and is appealing to all citizens to support the President in keeping and increasing "the gains for democracy at home, protecting the rights of minority groups and the constitutional liberties of all individuals." All of which is quite a different tune from that sung by CCG.

**DISAGREE WITH WHITE'S BOOK.**—Wide publicity has been given by the public press to reviews and comments upon *Report on the Russians* by William L. White—a book almost wholly negative. Few papers have had anything to say about the disagreement with the views presented by the book by the foreign correspondents who have resided in the Soviet Union during recent years. Sixteen correspondents, including James Aldridge of the North America Newspaper Alliance; Raymond Arthur Davies of the Canadian Broadcasting Co.; Alexander Kendrick of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*; Edmund Stevens of the *Christian Science Monitor*; Jerome Davis of the *New Republic* staff, and others of equal prominence, have issued the following statement:

"The undersigned foreign correspondents, who have worked in the Soviet Union during the present war, wish to express their disagreement with the views and observations set forth by William L. White in his *Report on the Russians*. None of us is satisfied with the limited facilities extended to us as reporters by the Soviet government, and none denies the truth of certain statements in Mr. White's book as condensed in *Reader's Digest*. At the same time such a book has to be considered as an organic whole, and

for the totality of its effect, and viewed in this light we feel it contains far too many inaccuracies to serve as a proper interpretation of a great nation and a great people.

"Written on the basis of a very brief trip through a country where White was ignorant not only of the language but evidently of the history and culture as well, its peculiar but fundamental dishonesty lies in the total absence of either foreground or background detail. It presents a miniature static picture of a vast and complex land which can only be understood in terms of change and historical perspective. Appearing at this time, the book has to be linked with the significance of ignorant and inimical groups here and in Europe, who seek to sharpen distrust and suspicion among the Allies.

"We, therefore, have no hesitation in saying that for Americans seeking understanding on the basis of real knowledge of Russia, in the hope of finding a common ground for living at peace with our neighbors, White's book must rank as a highly biased and misleading report, calculated to prolong the oldest myths and prejudices against a great ally, whose sacrifices in this war have saved us incalculable bloodshed and destruction."

## Labor Concern

**STATE LABOR SCHOOL.**—The state legislature of New York has appropriated \$200,000 for the establishment of the first school of Industrial and Labor Relations in U.S.A. It is to be operated in connection with Cornell University and will open in the fall of this year. Three principal types of courses will be provided: a resident four-year curriculum; an extension program; and short on-campus courses. A continuing program of research in labor and management fields is also planned. Stress will be given to the history and principles of sound industrial and labor relations, the rights and obligations of employers and employees, the history and development of industrial practices, and other phases of industrial, labor and public relations of employers and employees tending to promote unity and the welfare of the people generally.

**CONSCRIPTION AND LABOR'S INTEREST.**—It is significant that among the sponsors of conscription legislation are a number of Senators and Representatives whose record has been consistently anti-labor. There is a subtle connection here not generally recognized. Under provision of the pending bills Union members could be forced to become strike-breakers. In order to break a strike it would be within the Government's power to order strikers into the Reserve and then send them back, in uniform, to their jobs. The men in charge of compulsory military service in time of peace would doubtless be militarists and for the most part anti-labor.<sup>1</sup>

**BOUGHT A RETURN TICKET TO TEXAS.**—The so-called "Christian American" Association is not meeting the success it anticipated in the campaign for its "right-to-work" amendment outlawing the closed shop and its bill to prevent unions from charging more than \$1 initiation fees and \$1 monthly dues. Both were killed in committee in the session of the Kansas legislature recently ended. Kansas was chosen months ago as a promising field for anti-labor legislation. Organizer George T. Roscoe was sent from Texas to conduct the CAA campaign, which was backed also by the Associated Industries of Kansas. As the session ended Roscoe bought a ticket for Texas, saying, "If the Kansas legislature does not want to cooperate, there is no further need of my services here." Kansas legislators agreed.

<sup>1</sup>How to Make a Worker into a Strike-breaker, a four-page leaflet, is available from the Post War World Council, 112 E. 19th St., New York 3, N. Y., \$1.00 per 100.



**INDIAN GOVERNMENT MAY TAKE OVER.**—Under an AP headline dated April 22 the Government's Planning and Development Department was quoted as announcing a policy of "taking over" development of major industries if private capital is not prepared to proceed with dispatch. In India this would not involve great change as ordnance factories, public utilities, and railways already are largely state-owned. "Apart from these," the statement said, "basic industries such as aircraft, automobiles and tractors, chemicals, iron and steel, machine tools, and electrical machinery industries may be nationalized." In any event the Government has planned to have a definite hand in the control of such industries through "representation on the board of management."

**FULL EMPLOYMENT.**—Senate Banking and Currency Committee hearings on the Full Employment Bill (S 380) will start after the Committee is through with the Bretton Woods bill. Watch for reports on these.

## Rural Welfare

**CONSTRUCTIVE RESETTLEMENT PROJECT.**—From California comes report of the beginnings of development of a Japanese-Caucasian community of about 200 families who will engage in the growing of guayule rubber as a group project. In cooperation with scientists of the California Institute of Technology, Japanese scientists, agriculturists, and technicians at Manzanar have achieved promising advances in the culture and processing of guayule by which it is hoped to produce more and better guayule rubber than has been possible heretofore and at lower cost. Continued assistance of the Institute of Technology, it is reported, will be given through the maintenance of a research center.

**MVA HEARINGS UNDER WAY.**—In April hearings began on S 555, the bill to create a Missouri Valley Authority to do for nine Missouri River states what TVA has magnificently achieved for the Tennessee area. Beginning its course in the Senate Commerce Committee the bill is slated to go also to Senate Irrigation and Reclamation and then to Senate Agriculture. Already the bill has been subjected to bitter attack from a Senate bloc who are following much the same line as that of Sen. McKellar's opposition to TVA. At stake are 1,500,000 man-years of work, new industries for nine states, low-cost electricity for farms and towns, new productive farm lands for thousands of veterans, and increased crop yields for hundreds of thousands of farmers. The immediate danger is the substitution of legislation precluding an independent MVA set-up. Start writing your senators now urging support for S 555. A warning signal was the sudden rise of utility-stocks immediately following Roosevelt's death. "The market," the *New York Sun's* objective commentator noted, "must have felt that . . . at last under the new administration the driving power that had created TVA would be lacking."

**RURAL EDUCATION "ARCHAIC."**—So declares Dr. Howard A. Dawson, director of Rural Service, National Education Association. Pointing out that more than 12 million pupils are found in rural areas, Dr. Dawson maintains that "rural children are seriously handicapped in the educational opportunities available to them. . . . The rural school ought to be an institution whose program is indigenous to the needs of the pupils and to the community it serves. The broad social and economic goals of education can be made real only in terms of the situations and needs of the children affected. . . . The most unsatisfactory educational opportunities in the nation are the rural schools for Negroes, Spanish-American groups, the children of migratory

agricultural workers, handicapped children and for the children in areas of low economic resources. . . . There must be a fundamental reorganization of the administrative structure of rural education in a majority of the states. The present system of organization of most of the rural schools is archaic, the vestige of ox-cart days, and is scarcely defensible on any grounds."

**BREEDING NEW CEREALS.**—The Agricultural Committee for American-Soviet Friendship has released a paper by a Russian scientist, Nickolai Tsitsin, vice-president of the Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences, describing results of his experiments in crossing wheat with twitch grass (couch grass) an extraordinarily tenacious weed found in all parts of the world, capable of growing on any soil in practically all temperatures and under conditions of extreme drouth. After many experiments Tsitsin reports success in developing a number of types of hybrids of wheat and twitch grass. Tens of thousands of hectares have been planted to them in the Soviet Union. Number 22850 is an annual wheat-twitch grass hybrid, highly immune to fungus diseases such as rust or smut, suitable for moist or dry soil, and showing a yield almost twice that of the average wheat. A type of perennial wheat also has been developed by Tsitsin which yields two harvests each year for at least two years in succession.

## *The Federation Mailbag*

Dear Friend: Recent issues of SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN have certainly been excellent. It not only gives us facts we want to know, but interpretations of events which are self-convincing as sound. There is one small point I am skeptical of—a point on which I think a little clarification of thinking is desirable. Under "Cooperation" the BULLETIN recently said, "The Movement in America is rapidly moving back from co-operation in distribution to cooperation at the source of production." Is this strictly true? Just because a factory is owned by co-ops does not mean that there is cooperation in production. I know how the Chinese Industrial Co-ops work, and it is my impression that the co-op owned factories in this country are not co-ops. I feel keenly that the Cooperative Movement in the United States *should* move back from consumer co-ops to real producer co-ops. But is it not true that the membership of the consumer co-ops are rather interested in dividends more, perhaps, than giving real economic democracy to the workers in their factories? It seems to me that the co-op membership needs much education along this line. Workers in some of their factories, I am told, are actually working under poorer conditions than in some capitalist organizations. I remember Rew Alley once saying, "The consumer co-ops in America are the tail of the capitalistic order; the industrial co-ops of China are the spear-head of a new social order." If that is true we ought to know it.—L. EARL WILMOTT.

We referred our correspondent's statement to our good friend E. R. Bowen, General Secretary of the Cooperative League, U.S.A., for such comment as he might care to make. Mr. Bowen writes: I think it is absolutely true that some members of every cooperative are primarily interested in the patronage returns and I think it perfectly natural in the present stage of our development. However, as regards employees every single one of them can exercise economic democracy as consumers by becoming members of the local cooperative which in turn is a member of the regional, which in turn owns the factories where they work. Of course, this circle is not complete in every case as yet—for example, in the case of workers in a feed mill or fertilizer factory owned by a farm group, but that is also a stage in evolution. Every worker can become a member of a local grocery store or help to organize one if there is none in his community. . . . All of these things are a part of the growing pains of the Cooperative Movement, and anyone who has a solution as to how to achieve the ideal more quickly will find that his suggestion will be welcomed.



## New Social Climate

(Continued from page 4)

rule there has come in Atlanta a revival of the Intercollegiate Council, bringing into cooperative corporate fellowship Christian students from all of Atlanta's colleges, Negro and white. Meetings are held alternately on white and Negro campuses. In addition, there has been functioning for almost a year now a similar interscholastic council on the high school age level—a council which came as a spontaneous creation of Christian high school students themselves—students who had become dissatisfied with the basically unhuman and unbrotherly position embodied in a Jim Crow society and who were searching for ways to cross those barriers into inclusive fellowship.

Throughout the Southeast I found such new opportunities for interracial brotherhood and cooperation being opened up on the initiative of socially minded Christian leaders. We can rightly look to Christians with such devotion and spirit to give us real aggressive leadership in the days ahead. The Wesley Memorial Church Building is the Methodist headquarters in Atlanta. The Southern Regional Council, which carries on an enlarged version of the program of the old Interracial Commission, and which is directed by an active Methodist layman, secured Bishop Moore's permission to move its offices and interracial staff into Wesley Memorial Building. Thus for the first time a Negro secretary is using the facilities of this Methodist building regularly and without discrimination—a good indication of the kind of progress in the South which so heartens folk of good will.

Students are dedicated to the proposition that talking about social problems is not enough. They want to act actually to change conditions. It was when they came to see in the Federation a means not only for social education but for effective social action that they were most eager to join it and to help form Federation chapters.

It was possible for me to see only a limited number of key individuals personally; but overwhelmingly and enthusiastically they joined the Federation. For example, among new voting Federation members in Atlanta are: Professors William R. Cannon, Emmett S. Johnson, and W. A. Smart (all of Emory University and the only faculty men there whom I personally approached); Dr. Lester Rumble (outstanding Methodist pastor); Mrs. M. E. Tilly (able, fearless director of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities for Methodist women throughout the Southeast); President J. W. Haywood of Gammon (who volunteered to present MFSS and seek memberships in his Annual Conference); Professor P. A. Taylor of Gammon; President James P. Brawley of Clark College (another outstanding socially dedicated Negro educator); Brother C. A. Hall (a real saint in the Church, who heads up his Conference Endowment Board); and a number of students from Emory and Agnes Scott. There are prospects for the development of a joint Emory-Agnes Scott youth unit, as well as a theological seminary unit, bringing together student and faculty members from both Emory and Gammon. The help of my old friend, Professor Emmett Johnson, was priceless for developments in Atlanta and throughout the Southeast. Dean Katharine Johnson and Director-of-Religious-Life Elizabeth Stinson are ready to give us great leadership at Wesleyan—as are the many students and leaders who joined the Federation and are ready for a youth chapter at GSCW in Milledgeville. President E. C. Peters of Paine College became a regular member and will give us great help. Rev. Claude C. Fullerton of the South Georgia Conference also joined and will be a real resource for us on the rural problem.

In southern Alabama there are good prospects for membership expansion and Conference chapter organization. All whom I personally interviewed there joined the Federation and are ready for vigorous cooperation—including key Meth-

odist leaders in Montgomery and Brother A. S. Turnipseed of Greenville. In Birmingham, also, we have a good number of new members, both white and Negro. Of particular significance is the entrance into the Federation of outstanding trade union leaders in Birmingham who are also active Methodist laymen. One of them is ready to solicit more memberships among Methodist trade unionists whom he knows personally. Surely this development will add both breadth and incisiveness to our Federation movement.

In Nashville between trains I had brief but encouraging interviews with a few outstanding socially-dedicated Methodists to whom Miss Louise Young of Scarritt College kindly gave me personal introduction. In Louisville, I had a good and highly encouraging conference with Bishop William T. Watkins, who is ready to give us real and devoted leadership. Also, I had a brief but encouraging conference at the bus station with Rev. I. R. Sumner, who is one of the many Negro Methodist leaders who expressed willingness to help expand the Federation in the Central Jurisdiction. Here again is heartening prospect of greater breadth for the Federation, combined with greater incisiveness.

The progressive democratic forces in the South are on the march. The climate is ripe for aggressive social advance. The door is open for vast expansion of membership in the Methodist Federation for Social Service. We can look to this region not only for many individual Federation members, but for solid and effective Federation chapters which will give real and significant leadership to our total movement. We also need more material in the BULLETIN on the Kingdom victories being won in the South, and we can get the material through these new members and new chapters.

Louisville was my last stop in the Southeast; but before reaching the national office, I spent one day with the Erie Conference Methodist Federation group in Meadville, Pennsylvania (where I also addressed the students of Allegheny College) and part of a day with Wyoming Conference Federation members at Scranton. At both meetings there was strong expression of determination to expand the Federation, both in membership and in program effectiveness. Unanimous motions to this effect were passed in both sessions. Prospects for the future seem heartening indeed.

## New Members MFSS Executive Committee

The Federation's Executive Committee has enthusiastically voted to approve the Administrative Committee's recommendation and elect to its membership Bishop William T. Watkins of Louisville, Kentucky, and Mrs. M. E. Tilly of Atlanta. Both are outstanding representatives of progressive, socially concerned Christianity in the Southeastern Jurisdiction. Bishop Watkins has served as Bishop of the Methodist Church since 1938. He was Professor of Church History at Emory University's Candler School of Theology from 1930 to 1938. From 1932 to 1936 he was editor of the Wesleyan Christian Advocate. He is an outstanding scholar and received his education at Emory University, Candler School of Theology, Yale Divinity School, Edinburgh University, and United Free Church College of Glasgow. Mrs. Tilly, Jurisdiction Secretary of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities of the Woman's Society of Christian Service, is active on racial, economic and industrial relations in the South. For many years she has been with the Interracial Commission in Atlanta, recently become the Southern Regional Council, and for several months in 1944 was Director of the Emergency Food Committee for the Promotion of FSA legislation. Both Bishop Watkins and Mrs. Tilly have expressed thorough devotion to the cause and program of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, and we are all looking to them for great leadership.—J. R. M.



## Books and Pamphlets

*The Economic Order and Religion*, Frank H. Knight and Thornton W. Merriam (Harper and Brothers, New York, 1945, 275 pp., \$3.00).

Is Christianity capable of giving ethical guidance to society as men meet the present crisis in which economic problems are of primary importance?

This is one statement of the question discussed by Frank H. Knight, professor of the social sciences at the University of Chicago, and Thornton W. Merriam, director of the U.S.O. Training Council of the Y.M.C.A., and formerly chairman of the Board of Religion at Northwestern University, in two essays each written "without explicit reference to the position of the other."

Mr. Knight holds that Christianity cannot give such guidance. Mr. Merriam takes the opposite position.

The authors do not argue and debate this issue. For they have much in common, and each recognizes a measure of validity in the historical and interpretive statements of the other. They seek the clarification of issues and of their own positions. Their differences however are important and have far-reaching implications. These appear most clearly in critical statements, each based on the essay of the other, in the closing part of the book.

To Mr. Knight the chief reason for Christianity's ethical inadequacy lies in its theological basis in the Jewish-Christian Scriptures which are accepted as authoritative for belief and practice. The teachings of Jesus and Paul, while more liberal than the earlier tradition, confirm this view. The history of the Christian Church, he contends, from the earliest days to the present, includes a prophetic element but this element is not the main trend, and it is subject to the limitations of beliefs which have questionable value today.

Some of the specifications of Mr. Knight's indictments are: (1) as a general rule Christianity sanctions the established morality and law in a given time and place; (2) the core of the teaching of Jesus and Paul was "the imminence of the Kingdom of God, to be established on earth by supernatural intervention," (3) salvation is held to be the result, not to say reward, of faith—an attitude of will, not of thought or action.

The author holds that while the individual Christian is required to live by high, austere moral codes, beyond this the moral life is "supposed not to present any serious intellectual problems but to be a matter of right will," this latter being regarded as the will of God. But Christians have never agreed upon the interpretation of this will in relation to any far-reaching social problem or need. The universal love enjoined as God's will for man, and his duty—because of its lack of discrimination—is "without significance for action." For by rational standards "love ought not to be impartial."

Mr. Knight recognizes that the "prophetic tradition" of thought and action in Christianity has contributed to many good results in improved human relationships, and that this continues to be true to-day. But he contends that this tradition has but a questionable right to be called Christian, in spite of the fact that its outstanding exemplars have claimed that they found light and leading in historical Christianity. To be truly Christian it would have to be in harmony with the dominant trend as revealed in history, or express undeniable implications of that trend.

Mr. Merriam has a different viewpoint and conclusion. Christianity as both religion and ethics, he contends, is not life-bound within the Scriptures and the history of the centuries. It is a living, dynamic movement. He therefore refuses to accept rigid and unyielding conformity to tradition as the test of authenticity, and gives a larger place and influence to prophetic insight and ethical purpose. He freely admits much truth in Mr. Knight's facts and interpretations. He has no choice. He must. For Christianity has been and has done what history reports. But he contends with equal emphasis that there is, and always has been, that in Christianity which seeks to bring the social order into increasing harmony with its ideals, ideals that are to-day relevant to the economic situation. And further, that these ideals are just as hard-headed towards the facts and just as clear-eyed in seeing things-as-they-are as the toughest kind of wrestling with reality can make them.

Merriam further insists that the churches must concern themselves with economic questions because of their interests and obligations as social institutions. They too are deeply involved in the economic system. And, from another angle, because life-experience within a Christian fellowship "generates a concern for persons in their total relationships to reality."

Five contributions that Christianity may make are indicated: (1) proclaim an "impossible ideal," based in Christian belief regarding the destiny of man; (2) furnish criteria for judging contemporary economic practices; (3) provide for the study and discussion of "ethical issues in economic activity from which patterns for social endeavor may be evolved"; (4) emphasize changing the lives of individuals, and this in the social situation in which they are placed, rather than *outside* it; (5) "carry on an educational process which may mean that the next generation will accept economic discussion as part of Christianity."

Merriam's essay centers in what he believes the task of Christianity to be: "to bind together man's fragmentary knowledge and his aspirations in a coherent and dynamic world-view," in place of the atomistic outlook so common to-day, and so inimical to the progressive realization of the ideals of freedom, collective responsibility, equality, and universality, integral to the prophetic tradition.

A comment or two may be added. In the opinion of this reviewer the writers have accomplished what they set out to do. Their essays are of great importance because of the thorough competence of the authors and their critical fair-mindedness in appraising one another's viewpoint. Books of this kind are few and infrequent. Partisan voices are loud and shrill. Too many of those who seek to inform and guide us are over-anxious to prove their cases. Dogmatic statement, instead of patient search for truth-for-life, is their method.

The authors of these essays have much in common although their differences, which reflect the dualism of modern ethics, are deep and not to be reconciled by any purely intellectual approach to them. But this simply means that free minds exploring subjects that never can be given final form and statement are here in action, both intent only upon discovering aspects of truth that will guide men a little farther upon their way towards the fuller realization of their ideals in a social order more just than the one perishing in the conflict raging to-day.

Many of us believe, on the basis of facts so we think, that men need ethical values and insights outside the sole authority of reason. But we need to be brought up with a sharp turn and compelled to re-examine our position. This fine book does this for us if we read in the mind and spirit of its authors. And if such contributions to our thought are multiplied, one happy result may be that some preachers will have something more inspiring and enlightening to say to their people than that the collapse of civilization now engulfing mankind is due to the weakness of a social order based upon "science." Creative Christianity will be adequate to the huge task of dealing with facts, principles, and processes without losing sight of its goal, and its God.—DORR DIEFENDORF.

*How Labor and the Church Can Work Together*, James Myers. (Industrial Division, Department of the Church and Social Service. Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y. Pamphlet, 16 pp., 5¢.). A plea for church and labor to work together for measures designed to assure the basic rights of the common people, promote social progress, economic plenty, race justice and world peace. The leaflet has brief descriptions of practical plans and programs that have been successfully used.

*The Joads in New York State*. A study planned and directed by a special committee of the Consumers League of New York. (Consumers League, 170 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N. Y. Pamphlet, 26 pp., 15¢.). A factual study of conditions in migrant labor camps in which from 10 to 20 thousand migrant workers live each year during their seasonal employment. These conditions should be more widely known. As they become known an aroused public will demand effective remedial measures.

*Veteran's Guide*, Dallas Johnson. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 102. (Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y. 32 pp., 10¢.). One of the numerous popular, factual pamphlets in the series issued by the non-profit, educational Public Affairs Committee. A helpful informative guide for service men which gives trustworthy answers to many questions certain to be asked. All the facts stated, the committee assures us, have been checked for accuracy with the government and private agencies to which reference is made.